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Ex-FBI Official Defends Break-Ins

By EDWARD W. O'BRIEN Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON — W. Mark Felt, a retired top FBI official, authorized two clandestine break-ins by FBI agents to premises involving radical terrorist organizations, and he's proud of it.

If he had refused to permit the agents to carry out black-bag jobs in search of information about the groups, "I would have been derelict in my duty," Felt said in an interview.

One entry four years ago to an Arab information office in Dallas may have saved American lives, he indicated. The FBI agents were able to photograph within minutes an ultra-secret membership list of 80 U.S. residents who were members or possible sympathizers of Al Fatah, the Arab guerrilla organization affiliated with the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Other FBI agents around the country immediately tracked down the 80 Arabs, interviewed them, "and let them know they would be watched," Felt recalled.

Not all of them were bombers, Felt said, but some were viewed as potential terrorists. The FBI had learned through informants that Al Fatah feared the FBI and would be most unlikely to engage in violence after members' identities were known,

The other FBI surreptitious entry approved in advance by Felt as acting associate director of the bureau was in an effort to trace some 20 Weathermen fugitives being hunted for federal crimes. The break-in was conducted in New York but failed to produce the desired information, because friends and relatives of the fugitives were extremely careful to avoid revealing clues to help in their capture.

The Dallas break-in has not stirred any current legal problems for the FBI because of the PLO's obvious connection with foreign governments. But the Weatherman entry — and others allegedly carried out against the Socialist Workers Party, a Marxist organization — are being investigated.

Felt and others of the FBI's highest hierarchy at that time are dismayed by the investigations. Most of his one-time colleagues have chosen to remain publicly silent in the face of possible indictments.

But Felt is outspoken about his actions prior to his 1973 retirement and the reasons for them.

The break-ins were morally and probably legally justified, he said, citing this quotation from Thomas Jefferson: "A strict adherence to written laws is not the highest duty of good citizens. The laws of self-preservation, of saving the country when danger abounds, are of more importance, for without a nation there would be no Constitution."

A 1972 Supreme Court decision held that surreptitious entry, without a warrant, to install an eavesdropping device against a domestic target, is lawful if the targe has a "significant" connection with a foreign power, he said.

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— HEMPHIS, TENN
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In the case of the Weatherman break-in, the FBI has recently filed with the Justice, Department a 500-page report documenting the organization's ties with the Fidel Castro regime in Cuba.

"The Weatherman underground consists of a group of vicious criminals who arrogantly claim credit for hundreds of bombings and other acts of violence," Felt said. "They claim more than \$10 million worth of damage to public and private property.

"They bombed our Capitol, the Pentagon and the State Department, to mention but a few. They brag that they are Communist revolutionaries. Fidel Castro is their mentor.

"It is very important to view the actions of the FBI in the light of the time frame in which they occurred. . . .

"There are some who would argue that if a violent action is motivated by political considerations, the FBI should not intervene until after the crime actually occurs.

"There can be no double standard. Violence is violence, and murder is murder."

Felt dismissed as ridiculous any claim that the FBI has conducted massive surveillance of liberals or dissidents. He gave these specifics: The FBI has 8,000 agents in Washington and 59 field offices. It takes a minimum of six agents to conduct round-the-clock surveillance of one person. If all FBI agents were assigned to such work and nothing else, the FBI could monitor fewer than 1,500 persons.

As for wiretapping, he said the maximum number of national security telephone taps at one time under the late J. Edgar Hoover was about 40, and under his successor, L. Patrick Gray, the high was about 100. The total number of organized crime taps during a year was approximately 250, he said.

These figures, he said, should be evaluated against a total of more than 200 million telephones in the United States.

After a 31-year career in the FBI, including service from 1958 to 1962 as special agent in charge of the Kansas City, Mo., office, Felt said, he can assure the American people of the bureau's dedication to protecting their rights as individuals.

"The FBI has always made a very great effort to see that an investigation was aimed at clearing the innocent as well as finding the guilty," he said. He is familiar with law enforcement practices in Britain and other democracies, he said, "and none of them goes to the lengths we do in protecting the rights of the individual."

Felt testified before the current Washington grand jury and made, he said, a full disclosure about the breakins.

"My feeling is that I will not be indicated," he said.
"If I am, I am confident that a trial jury would vindicate
me in the actions I took to protect the country.

Still 'Twisting Slowly' —

SOME OF THE domestic intelligence burglaries conducted by the FBI in 1972 are now being laid at the feet of L. Patrick Gray III, who was briefly acting director after the death of J. Edgar Hoover in May of that year.

It's hard to know what was happening within the Federal Bureau of Investigation at that time. W. Mark Felt, former associate FBI director, says he approved burglaries because he had beard Gray say "he would approve these things." Edward S. Miller, former head of FBI intelligence, says Gray approved such break-ins in a conversation at which there was no third-party witness. Gray, through his lawyer, has denied "condoning or approving, directly or indirectly, any illegal act" by the FBI.

It should be remembered that the summer of '72 was the time Gray was up to his neck in problems involving the contents of "plumber" Howard Hunt's safe, the CIA and White House aide John Dean—a time when, he told the Senate Watergate investigators, "I was confused, uncertain and uneasy."

Gray has testified he had several briefings from Mark Felt, and gave Felt directions, in that per. d. These had to do with CIA relations and the Hunt papers, which were not what Gray took them to be, and which he wrongly destroyed thinking, he said, he was protecting national security. In the end, when his Senate confirmation hearings brought out much of this, Gray found himself, in the words of former President Nixon's aide, John Ehrlichman, being left to "hang there" and "twist slowly in the wind."

Speaking of his mistake in burning the Hunt papers, Gray told the Watergate Committee in August, 1973: "I shall carry the burden of that act with me always."

LOOKING AT THE statements made about Gray and the FBI burglaries this week by Felt and Miller, Gray's words seem prophetic.

But more than that, the FBI continues

to carry the burden - and so does its present director, Clarence M, Kelley.

Kelley is having to devote so much time to trying to save a little of the FBI's credibility and morale that he is left little time for running what is one of the most important agencies of federal government.

It is good to clean up past FBI errors. And it is vital to be assured that the FBI is not still governed by old-time loyal Hoover hands who is stinctively obey past conditioning.

Somewhere the FBI needs a line to divide the abuses of the past and the efforts to live by the new rules. We need the FBI to fight crime and subversion. We need an FBI free of political interference. We need an FBI that can be proud of itself and make us proud of it.

It cannot be left to go on as Gray was, "twisting slowly in the wind."

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Probe Hits More At FBI

. The New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — A growing number of past and present executives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, including two aides close to its director, Clarence M. Kelley, have fallen under the scrutiny of the Justice Department's inquiry into alleged criminal misconduct within the bureau, according to sources close to the inquiry.

The investigation of the FBI, the first in the bureau's history, is considering allegations of financial corruption among high bureau officials and the commission of illegal burglaries by agents within the last five years, long after that practice was believed to have been halted.

According to a variety of reliable sources in and out of the government, the twin investigations have badly damaged the bureau's morale and the efficiency of some of the control of the government, the twin investigations have badly damaged the bureau's morale and the efficiency of some of the control of t

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NAACP's Roy Wilkins Say He Will Refuse to Retire

By PAUL VANCIL
Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

In an open break with some members of the NAACP board of directors, executive director Roy Wilkins told delegates at Cook Covention Center today he would refuse to retire in January as previously announced.

Wilkins, 75, said he now plans to stay on until the July 1977 national convention because a statement that he would retire in January was made without consulting him and "a campaign of vilification" had been started against him by certain board members.

members.
Wilkins told the delegates in a short statement this morning, "It was with shock that I learned that a campaign of vilification of me had been started...by certain members of the board and continues until this day. If God is willing I shall be at the St. Louis convention as an active directing member of the NAACP family.

"If the board elects to fire me before that time, then I shall have to call upon you to let me represent your interests directly."

At a press conference later, Wilkins refused to name the board members he referred to, but said there was an organized attempt to oust him by "a small powerful group." However, his wife Minnie said the attempt had started after Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson of St. Louis had become board chairman.

He said the criticisms starting about 18 months ago had affected his health but did not specify.

Wilkins said he did not know why the board members wanted him out.

Wilkins said he understood the agreement with the board was that he would become consultant at executive director's salary in January if his successor had been chosen by them. But Mrs. Wilkins said a recently drawn contract said he would become a consultant at only \$10,000 per year, a large drop from his reported \$38,500 per year.

The NAACP Resolutions Committeetoday proposed a resolution calling for an investigation of alleged FBI survelliance of NAACP members and possible criminal prosecution "of those responsible."

The call came in the committee's Civil Rights Resolution.

The resolution said: "Those responsible persons still employed by the FBI should be disciplined and an independent and impartial agency appointed by the Congress to investigate and recommend appropriate action including criminal prosecution against those who violated the rights of so many Americans."

In the same resolution, President Ford, and congressional members were called upon "to cease cheap demagoguery and begin to obey the law" on school busing. The resolution also asks for a federal investigation of "the growing epidemic of violence against black citizens."

Also reported out of committee were resolutions on foreign affairs, communications, labor and industry, consumer protection and economic development. All resolutions may be amended by the delegates.

Resolutions on education, housing, political action, health and armed services are also expected. The delegates will consider the resolutions today and tomorrow.

In the proposed foreign affairs resolution, the committee noted its approval of U.S. policy supporting majority rule by blacks in African countries. It reaffirmed a 1975 resolution calling on American businesses to stop investing in South Africa "until apartheid is ended and majority rule becomes reality."

Monday the delegates adopted an emergency resolution condemning violence against blacks in South Africa:

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AACP President

More militancy is needed to make sure civil rights laws are implemented, Dr. W. Montague Cobb of Washington, president of the national organization, said earlier.

"There has been a long series of struggles, led by the NAACP, to get civil rights," Cobb told a press conference.

"Now we face a new era, one concerned not so much with getting laws on the books as getting them properly

implemented," he said.

"The NAACP must take the offensive in leading America out of the sickness it is in. We must get away from the program that racism is the root of all evil . . , it

"We have to attack the fundamental nature of man and I do not care by what approach that is done, but it has to be an educational one," Cobb said.

At another point, however, Cobb said racism is a form of mental illness that handicaps whites more than

Through education, said Cobb, man could get to the real root of his problems - hate.

"You have got to eradicate hate from human nature as the technique of getting something done," he said during his first major news conference of the national convention.

Is FBI Or Individual Agent Responsible For Illegalities?

By GARRY WILLS

HE NUREMBURG principle has been challenged in its international application. Some say international law is not recognized by all nations; imposed on the conquered, it amounts to promulgating and enforcing the law simultaneously. Nonetheless, we as a nation did establish the Nuremburg principle, and we have tried on occasion to abide by it, even when the criminal was an American soldier (e.g., Lt. William Calley).

But even if there are some arguments against the principle in international affairs, we cannot logically assert it in a questionable area and deny it where no such doubts apply. In domestic affairs, when we are dealing with fellow citizens under a single legal system, there can be no defense for breaking a law on the grounds that "I was just obeying orders." The judge very eloquently knocked down that defense in the "plumbers" trial.

Many well-documented crimes against Amerigan citizens have been committed by active agents if the CIA and the FBI. Yet no single perpetrator of those multiple crimes has been convicted. In the lew cases where indictments were brought, the agencies succeeded in quashing them. But now we hear that the Justice Department is investigating the network of FBI agents who committed illegal searches and seizures in the campaign against the Socialist Workers Party.

TO SOME AMERICANS, the idea of holding a "G-Man" to account for undermining the Constitution is unthinkable. These people have been treated as above the law. But such an attitude not only did long-term damage to our society; it reduced FBI agents to the pawns of an autocratic director. We citizens could never question an agent, because an agent could never question J. Edgar Hoover's orders. The agents were systematically humiliated, regimented, and forced to do dirty work.

As Dostoievsky described the process in "The Possessed," nothing strengthened the conspiracy like the implication of all its members in interrelated crimes. Then no one can "squeal" because all are vulnerable. That was the power the FBI had over its own.

It is time - long past time - to break that power. There is no question, new, that FBI agents broke the law. So: how do we prove that the FBI is not organizationally committed to law-breaking except by prosecution of actual law-breakers? The effect will be to liberate future agents, no matter how much presently implicated agents protest the unfairness of punishing them. After all, they were just following orders, like Eichmann?

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trial in this matter. Will the government establish [Indicate page, name of and practice that its own agencies are not above the laws they are sworn to execute? After all, if John Mitchell, a former head of the Justice Department, can stand trial, then why not a hired burglar for the FBI? As I say, one result of this will be the liberation of future government employes from the pre-YOU'RE SURROUNDED BY ARMY,

NAVY, AIRFORCE, AND MARINES! you fbi agents come OUT WITH YOUR HANDS UPI

sumption that any criminal demand can be made Character: 2000 upon them. A useful service in this case is made character.

prepared by the Project on Official Illegalities, under the direction of Ralph Stavins. The project is doing legal research for a mailing to all em- Submitting Office: MEMPHIS ployes of national security agencies. This mailing will remind American citizens of their tight to resist official demands that they break the law, and it will outline procedures for legal protest and selfprotection.

No American citizen should be exposed, ever again, to the brow-beating tactics of a master criminal like J. Edgar Hoover, or plead such intimidation in crimes committed against his fellow citizens. We did not listen to this excuse when it was voiced by a Goeging. We certainly should not admit the same plea into our domestic courte-

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COMMERCIAL APPEAL

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The FBI Had A Job To Do And Did It

THE SENATE Intelligence Committee—the so-called Church Committee—is still sticking pins in the FBI.

The committee is issuing a series of 13 reports critical of the FBI.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Ida.) says that the FBI sought for 15 years to discredit and disarm groups and ideologies ranging from Communists to neo-Nazis, from black hate groups to the Ku Klux Klan.

The committee contends that the FBI's countermeasures may have been illegal.

THE COMMITTEE conveniently forgets it was Congress that delegated to the FBI the entire responsibility for our nation's internal security.

It was the FBI's duly assigned mission to protect our established order against the wreckers.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and its longtime director J. Edgar Hoover are victims of "discrimination." Its accusers are forgetting what our nation's potential enemies were up to during the years we are now second-guessing.

The so-called Black Liberation Army was conducting guerrilla warfare training near Atlanta, Ga.

From inside a California state prison, Huey Newton was directing Black Panther preparation for armed revolution. In 1970 the PanBy Paul Harvey



thers were fomenting terrorism in cities, on campuses.

With the avowed enemies of our nation employing more lethal weapons and kidnaping prominent persons, what should the one agency responsible for our nation's internal security do? That's what it did.

We still didn't do enough.

Between 1971 and 1974 some 6,900 weapons were stolen from United States military bases at home and abroad. That's enough to equip for combat 10 combat battalions.

So the terrorists — in three months of 1970 and 1971 — dynamited three campus buildings at the University of Oregon, pipebombed a GE building in New York, time-bombed a recruiting office in College Park, Ga., bombed a court building in Ei Monte, Calif., a civic building in Los Angeles and two recruiting stations in New York.

They bombed and killed in the Federal Building in Los Angeles and in Bristow, Okla. They bombed

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- NASHVILLE BANNER

- NASHVILLE, TENN.

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an Army induction center in Oakland, Calif., and a Navy Recruiting Center in Queens, Long Island, and three stores in Fort Pierce, Fla.

ALL THIS OVERT attack on our nation's established order occurred in a period of three months and, incidentally, since then, while our FBI has been further inhibited in its countermeasures, terrorist

bombings doubled in 1974, tripled in 1975!

And the likes of William Kunstler and Russell Means are now brazenly predicting "violent revolution in the streets" this year.

Meanwhile, the Senate Intelligence Committee, which should be on our side, preoccupies itself with accusing our FBI of playing too rough. So — I don't know.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)



Had Reason

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley has said privately that his recent, emotional apology for the bureau's past abuses of power was made in hopes that it 'might well prevent or at least somewhat retard the proliferation of highly restrictive legislation' directed at the FBI by Congress.

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A Fresh Start For Nation Away From Past Abuses

THE WRIT of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has run out and its 15-month-long labors ended. The people of the nation have reason to be grateful, whatever their chagrin or outrage about its revelations.

That record has been made clear. enough: Millions of Americans were victims of their own institutions and. were spied upon in ways that were hitherto regarded as the practices of police states.

The CIA, the FBI and other intelligence agencies have had their methods exposed, and it hasn't been pretty. The CIA had its assassination plots and its moves against foreign governments. The FBI had its mail openings, electronic espionage, and efforts to undercut civil rights leaders and to infiltrate

political and other organizations.

It is apparent informants kept a check on any number of groups, not only across the political spectrum, but in other areas such as the media. Since this newspaper itself was lately involved, the whole range of activities revealed by the Senate committee hits home even harder.

There is a new start. The Senate, after some wrangling, adopted the chief recommendation of the Select Committee. That was the formation of a single watchdog committee with sufficient powers to oversee the intelligence community and its activities.

suggested some two decades ago. But newspaper, city and state.) however much one might regret that a good idea was passed over then, it is: now an accomplished fact.

The 15-member committee will be chaired by Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii. The vice chairman is Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee. Its first task will be the drafting of "new

The committee will have exclusive iurisdiction over the CIA, but will share jurisdiction with other committees insofar as the FBI and other agencies are concerned.

telligence agencies:

However, the new committee will have power of review and approval over the budgets of all the intelligence agencies, including those not entirely under its control.

Senator Inouve said he expects the White House to notify the committee in advance of any major new intelligence effort and said he would warn the heads of the intelligence agencies that if they do not cooperate fully with the new committee, a successor panel would be formed which he thinks would have even more far-reaching powers.

The committee already has formidable powers, and it can exercise those | | SEARCHED____ in such a way that any intelligence [LEGILIZED_ agency could be called to account for its actions. It should have every determination to do so and should demonstrate by its actions that the constitutional checks and balances are restored.

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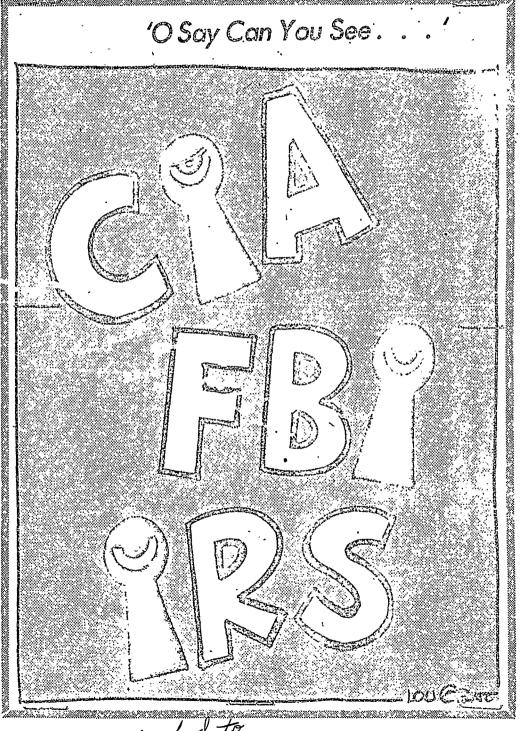
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